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REASONS
VVHY THIS KINGDOME
ought to adhere to the *Parliament*.

HOw soone doe men forget the by-gon time of their affliction? or if they retaine a darke and mistie remembrance of the time past they want the discetion by comparing it with the time present to foresee and prevent evill times to come. And this seemes to be now the condition of us the people of England, who have almost forgot how our Religion, Lawes, Liberties, and properties in our estates lay bleeding almost to death at the feete of a Malignant partie, of Papists, Prelates, and Court Priests, Innovating Councellors, corrupt Judges, with their dependants; Petty-Foggers, Solicitors, Projectors, Monopolisers, and other Prerogative Parasites: How unjust and distructive a warre was projected by the said Malignants betweene us and our brother Nation of Scotland, wherein we were sure if we were conquered, to loose our selves and all we had, to the Conqueror with whom we fought, and if we did conquer, to the Malignant party for whom we fought: How (to secure our bondage.) The old English Souldiary of Protestants being disbanded in *Ireland* an Army of 8000. *Irish* Papists (the conductors at this day of the bloody rebellion there) were

raiſed by *Strafford*, and kept hovering over our heads, ready to fall upon us (weakned with an unhappy conqueſt) and to lay that Iron yoke upon our neckes to which we ſhould unworthily have ſubdued our brethren.

But what our oppreſſions and grievances were in particular, who were the Authors, what aymes they had, and what meanes they uſed, how farre they proceeded before this Parliament, and ſince; what the faithfull endeavours of this Parliament are, and what they have done already for us, and at how little a charge, conſidering the great burdens and ſlavery they have freed us from, what dangerous oppoſitions, attempts, and deſignes (diſtructive to the being of Parliaments and to their owne perſons) they have (through the goodneſſe of God) overcome, and are ſtill inviroued withall: How faithfully to our benefit they have disburſed the publike money, and upon what juſt, neceſſary, legall grounds, and with what reſpect to the King and Kingdome they have managed all our affaires. How (as Chriſt was led aſide into the Wilderneſſe to be tempted) his Majeſtie is led aſide from his great Councell the Parliament (in whom there is ſtrength) into a Wilderneſſe of errors & weakneſſes; And what the points of difference betweene his Majeſtie and the Parliament are at this time: He that is capable of ſatisfaction, and deſires withall to know what ſhare he is likely to have in the publike calamities (if not prevented) and how to carry himſelfe therein, let him reade the third Remonſtrance, the ſeverall Declarations, the generall accounts of the Kingdome publiſhed by the Parliament, together with thoſe moſt excellent Obſervations, the one upon his Majeſties anſwer to the Lords and Commons of the 19. of *May*, 1642. The other upon ſome of his Majeſties late Anſwers and Expreſſes.

Likewiſe the Anſwer to the *Sommerſetſhire* Petition, and a good plaine Paper, called Some more new Obſervations concerning King and Parliament, contayning 20. Conſiderations. Another Paper intituled Jeſuits Plots: And a Paper called a ſhort diſcourſe tending to pacification of differences between his Maieſtie and his Parliament; where theſe truthes appeare as cleare as the Sun, in deſpight of Envy and her blacke mouth'd daughter, Slaunder, which alwayes attends good deeds in a bad age, as the ſhadow attends the body.

But that after ſo many Prayers and Petitions to God for a Par-

Parliament, wee ſhould ſo much forget his mercies, our owne ſufferings and complaints, and the Parliaments faithfull, wiſe, and effectuall indeavours, devours, as to hearken to the voyce of a Malignant partie, who flatter us, calumniate them, and abuſe all; this ſheweth us to be the Sons of *Adam*, apt to be tempted, even with an Apple. But let us examine the cauſes of this our inconſtancy & ingratitude, which may be partly inward in our ſelves, & partly outward in others.

1. Inward in our ſelves, as,

Firſt, long diſcontinuance of Parliaments hath filled this Kingdome ſo full of diſeaſes, that we grow weary of Phyſicke before our Phyſitians can perfect the cure, and had rather venture a relapſe then confirme our healthes by ſtirring up more humours.

Secondly, becauſe the Parliament did not ſeaſonably ſatisfie our anger with puniſhment of Delinquents, we are now tired with expectation, and as angry with the Parliament as with Delinquents. But if we conſider how, and by whom they are protected, where they take Sanctuary: and how the multitude of offenders, their friends and abetters is ſuch, that ——— *Hos defendit numerus, junctoque umbone phalanges*; They are too many, too ſtrong to be brought to puniſhment, unleſſe the Parliament found more abilitie in themſelves and more conſtancy in the people then they have yet met withall, the Parliament is to be excuſed.

Secondly, outward cauſes of our nnconſtancy and ingratitude proceeds from the ſubtiltie and induſtry of the malignant partie; who with all dilligence in their reports, diſcourſes, writings and publications, nay in Churches and Pulpits ſet faire faire gloſſes upon their owne fowle actions, and with foule paintings, ſtaine the faire merits of the Parliament. Let us examine ſome of their calumnies, for all is impoſſible.

Firſt, the Malignants obſerving us to be freed from painefull Symptomes, and willing to take our reſt and eaſe (upon the advantage of our ſloath) perſwade us to take this for a cure (though the diſeaſe lie yet lurking in our Bowells) and to grow angry with, and ſuſpitious of our Phiſitians, as if they kept us in an unneceſſary courſe of Phyſicke to continue their power and government over us. But their delayes proceeded partly from the throng of great and weightie buſineſſes, which (like waves continually falling in one upon another) hinder themſelves in the crowd; And principally from the ſlights of the Malignants.

Secondly, the Malignants obiect, that this Parliament is a burden to the Common-wealth, that they free us from Taxations of Shillings, by impoſitions of Pounds, by Subſidies, Polemoney, Loanes, &c.

Firſt, In deſperate diſeaſes (ſuch as the Malignants had infected this Common-wealth withall) Blood-leting is neceſſary, the veines will fill againe if the vitall parts be preſerved; if wee contribute part of our particular wealth to free the Common-wealth from ſlavery and ſuperſtition (the parents of repining ſloath

and deiected Cowardiſe) we ſhall incourage induſtry, and renew our ſtocke: but if we ſtoope under an Arbitrary government, who will worke that others may devoure the fruits of his labours? Libertie is the fountaine of induſtry, and induſtry of wealth.

2. Beſides, the Parliament hath already payd us liberally for all the Taxes they have made us pay; and our payments are but for the preſent; their benefits and good Lawes are perpetuall. The aboliſhing of ſuperſtition and reforming our Religion. The vindicating our Lawes, Liberties and Properties are ineſtimable. Shipmony did yearely coſt the kingdome above 200000. pound, Coate and Conduct mony, and other military charges (beſides the trouble and terrour) almoſt as much. A few Monopolies did yearely preiudice the Subiect a Million. Sope 100000. li. Wine 300000. li. Leather almoſt 400000. li. Salt 400000. li. all theſe, with many other Monopolies this Parliament hath taken away. Beſides what infinite dammage thoſe diſcouragements of trade brought inviſibly upon the Common-wealth, as well *Lucro ceſſante*, as *Damno emergente*. And (which is the benefit of all benefits, the Quinteſſence, the Elixer, the ſpirit extracted out of all their indeavours) the roote of all theſe wrongs is declared to be againſt law by an Act of Parliament, being an arbitrary power, which (for their owne benefit more then his Maieſties) the prerogative paraſites pretended to be in the King) of taxing the Subiects and charging their eſtates at pleaſure, without limitation, and without conſent in Parliament.

3. This Parliament had not beene ſo chargeable to the kingdome, had not the Malignant partie continually multiplied their troubles, charges and dangers, and retarded the remedies.

Thirdly this Parliament is more hated then any former Parliament hath been: Firſt, becauſe it hath found more Delinquents, and hath gone farther in ſearching and curing wounds and diſeaſes, and eſtabliſhing a perfect reformation both in Church and State, then ever any did. Long intermiſſion of Parliaments having filled this common-wealth ſo univerſally with ill humors (that in this old doting age, wherein it drawes to its period) we can neither indure its diſeaſes, nor the remedies) And herein this Parliament is moſt unhappy. Secondly, becauſe it cannot be broken without their owne conſent: Ever ſince which act paſt, all wayes have beene taken by the Court faction, to diſſolve or deſtroy it; before thoſe quarrels of *Hull* or the *Militia* were thought of.

All which plots fayling, they now attempt (what no age will ever beleeve, unleſſe it be as wicked as this) to render odious and ſuſpected to the people this onely Sanctuary of their Religion, Lawes, Liberties and properties. The repreſentative body of the whole kingdome.

Fourthly, they labour to make this and all other Parliaments invalid and of no authority or reputation with the people, by infuſing ſuch opinions and doctrines into

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into them as are inconsistent with the nature of Parliaments, and will strike dead the roote of them, if they be generally believed. First, that if the King desert the Parliament, it is a voyd assembly, & without power to defend the kingdome, even from open violence. A Right, not denied to a private person assaulted. Secondly, that Parliament priviledges are no where to be read, and so the Representation of this whole kindgdom gives them no priviledge nor authority. Thirdly, that the major part in Parliament is not considerable, when many are absent or dissent. But to stay untill all, or almost all are present and assenting, and not to *aquiesse*, in the Maioritie, is never to bring any thing to conclusion, nay to bring all to tumults and confusion. Fourthly, that the maior part is no maior part, becaus the fraud of some few misleads them. This Position divides the Parliament into two unworthy sorts of men, Deceivers, & Deceived. Fiftly, that Parliaments may doe dishonorable, nay treasonable Acts. And that this Parliament hath beene so blinded by some few Malignants, as to abett Treason in S. *John Hotham*. (Answer to the 19. Propositions *p.* 2. See the Answer to the Declaration *May* 26. *p.* 1. 2. 11. and 28. 29.) Here you see Treason charged upon the representative body of the kingdome, and consequently, by reflecting upon the whole body of the kingdome represented. If therefore his Maiestie take Armes, it must be against us all (Parliament and People) involved in one common crime of Treason. And yet the maxime of the law is, that no dishonorable thing is to be presumed of Parliaments. And (I believe) neither reason, nor example can shew any thing against this rule. Sixtly, that the Parliament hath trampled upon all Law, and the Kings Prerogative, and sought to inslave the whole Kingdome. During the long absence of Parliaments, the Prerogative had swallowed the Law, which this Parliament caused to be vomited up againe, and restored to the people, when the Malignant partie thought it had beene digested and converted into the very nature of the Prerogative. And this is one dangerous effect of the long want of Parliaments, that whatsoever the Prerogative devoures, though it digest and incorporate not with it, but breake forth into Wens and other unwholesome excretions; yet (becaus they are of some continuance) both Prince and people, but especially evill Councellors (who onely thrive by the abuse of exorbitant power) take it for a part and member of the Prerogative, and make ita matter of scandall and quarrell, that after so long a sufferance, the Parliament should launce or pare away those tumors. But that the Parliament (so small a body armed onely with a derivative power of representation, having an Active Anti-parliamentary faction of Monarchists in the heart of it, and which hath beene put to labour for its preservation ever since the Bill passed for perpetuating of it) should trample upon the Law, and inslave the whole kingdome, seemes wonderfull; it being the onely fountaine and foundation of our Lawes, the Sanctuary whither the people flie for succour when they are oppressed in their Lawes, Liberties, and Properties; and which so lately hath redeemed the people and all they can call theirs, out of bondage, and the members thereof being sure to suffer amongst the multitude, whensoever our Lawes faile us. Seventhly, that the *P*arliament sought the betraying of Church and State; and to effect the same, had erected a new upstart authoritie in the *Militia*, and levied war upon the King. They may properly be said to betray Church and State; who corrupt the doctrine and discipline in one, and subvert the

Lawes & forme of government in the other. And if any man be so great a stranger in our *Israel* as not to know who they are, I will tell him. First, the *Prelates*, and Court *Priests* brought many alterations into our Liturgy and Rubrick (contrary to the Act of *Parliament*, whereby the Common *Prayer* booke is established) vaine Ceremonies, Altars, and many new doctrines into our Church (to make us more consonant to the Church of *Rome*) as Episcopacy, and Tithes, *Jure Divino*. That the King hath a Divine *Prerogative* paramount to all our Lawes. That the Church of *Rome* is a true Church and erres not in fundamentalls (and then wee are Schismatickes at least) That Auricular confession is of necessitie, &c. These are a few of their corruptions in Doctrine: Discipline followes: They inlarged their jurisdiction against Law. The High Commission used the Temporall Sword by fining, imprisoning, as well as the spirituall. They used an independent jurisdiction, not derived from the King (which they claimed *Jure Divino*) in their owne name, and under their owne seales, contrary to the Stat. *H.8.C.17. 1. Ed.6.C.2.* still in force: In the State, The attempts of the Malignant partie to subvert our Lawes, Liberties, and *Properties*, and to reduce this well tempered Monarchy into a meere Arbitrary Government have beene sufficiently proved in the tryall and attainder of the Earle of *Strafford*; yet I will not omit the testimony of the Lord of *Faulkland*, who wittily tels us: the King was perswaded by his Divines, that in conscience, his Counsellors, that in policy, and his Judges, that by Law he might doe what he list: And if this be not a conspiracy to introduce Arbitrary Government, and change our State, I know not what is.

For the *Militia*, they desire not to remove it from the King, but from his subordinate Ministers, and place it upon other Ministers whom they suspect not; and to satisfie the feares of a whole Nation in time of danger, is wisedome. Besides, extraordinary diseases require extraordinary cures; the High distempers and dangers of the Kingdome compells the *Parliament* (That supreame Court & Counsell now deserted by the King) to have recourse to the supreame Law, *Salus populi*; Whose immediate rise is from the Law of Nature, which teacheth every worme, much more a man; and most of all a whole Nation to provide for its defence.

Besides, it neither belongs to the person, nor calling of the King to expound the Lawes: But that the *Parliament* hath a power to declare Law without the Kings consent, nay against it, (though not to make it without him) is apparent; for all inferiour Courts have the same. And what Counsellors and Interpreters of the Law his Majesty hath now about him, to be put in ballance with the faith and learning of a whole *Parliament*? What Expositions of Lawes and Stat. they have made, Let his late publications and Commission of Array, against the petition of Right, and their opinions and judgements given since that was enacted upon Ship-money, *Habeas corpora, &c.* testifie. 8ly. That *Parliaments* cannot declare Law, but in particular Cases, legally brought before them. It should seeme by this, that *Parliaments* have no Conusance of Causes, but upon complaints *ab extra*: But the House of Commons, being the great Enquest of the Kingdome, may, and ought to take Conusance of Causes of publike concernment, *ex officio*: and is accounted misconusant of nothing. 9ly. That *Parliaments* are questionable

nable & triable elſwhere. The *Parliament* is the ſupreame Court, & hath the laſt appeale; Anciently errors in other Courts were tryed there: therefore no other Court can have Conuſance of their Actions nor perſons; which were to appeale ridiculouſly, upwards and downwards. And if a *Parliament* be triable and arraignable before the King himſelfe: then hath the King an unlimited declarative power of Law above all Courts, in his owne breaſt; and the laſt Appeale muſt be to his diſcretion and underſtanding, and conſequently, the Legiſlative power His alone. And yet his Majeſtie is pleaſed to confeſſe himſelfe not skilfull in the Lawes. I know no third tryall to which a *Parliament* can be liable, unleſſe it be the triall by the Sword: from which, and from thoſe that counſell it, the God of Battels defend us; and grant us courage to defend our ſelves. Theſe laſt recited Doctrines and poſitions have receiued Anſwers of another nature at large, In the Obſervations upon his Majeſties laſt *Anſwers* and *Expreſſes*.

5. But the *Bug-beare* which works moſt upon the people, is, Leaſt theſe differences between his Majeſty and *Parliament* ſhould entangle us in a civill War. It ſeems they have little beliefe in his Majeſties proteſtations and imprecations, to governe peaceably and legally, who feare this: and they leſſe faith, who threaten them with it. But take heed you do not draw on a War, by fearing it: Courage is the beſt Antidote againſt it.

Wherefore I ſhall admoniſh you, that no War can be more deſtructive to you, and all that is yours, then your own Cowardiſe, if it ſhould ſo far fright you from your conſtancy, faith, and gratitude, as to make you deſert this *Parliament*: For,

Firſt, you cannot forſake this Parliament, and leave it to the mercy of the Malignants, but you ſhall forſake your ſelves, and your Religion, Lawes, Liberties, and properties open to the ſpoile and oppreſſion of an Arbitrary Government (more remedileſſe and not leſſe waſting than a war.) And either have no more Parliaments (for, when they may take what they liſt you ſhall never be called to give) or (if by vertue of your trianniall Act) there ſhould be another Parliament ſummoned, what faith and courage can you expect from ſuch Members as muſt either offer up your Lawes, Liberties, and properties that ſent them, or (being deſtitute of your Protection) become themſelves a Sacrifice? Such a ſlaviſh Parliament will lay the ſure foundation of all our ſlaveries: For as our Laws protect us and all that is ours, and Parliaments protect our Lawes, ſo we muſt protect them and their priviledges from violence. Next conſider how forraigne Kingdomes are governed, where (for want of Parliaments) the will of the Prince and his Favourites is the Law of the People. And how this Kingdome was governed during the long intermiſſion (when honeſt men were out of hope, and knaves out of feare) of Parliaments?

Secondly, He that thinkes a Parliament can be forſaken, knows not the power of Parliaments; for if the Parliament pleaſe to imitate your unconſtancy and faithleſſe cowardiſe, and, deſerting your intereſt, purſue only their own, and comply with the King, They are able to do him more ſervice in one week, then *Joſeph* did to *Pharaoh* in twice ſeven yeares. They can make him more abſolute than any Prince in Chriſtendome, nay then the Turk or Muſcovite. They can repeale all the good Laws they have got for you: They can revive the Star-Chamber, High-Commiſſion, &c. and

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ſet the Pillory upon your necks; and little *Laud* upon your eares againe: They can bring in and naturalize the Exciſes of the Low-Countries, the Gabels of France, the Alcavales of Spaine, and all the Taxes of Florence, and make England the Map of all the oppreſſions in the world, they can give away your Lawes, Liberties, & properties by a Statute, and eſtabliſh a perpetuall Tyranny by a Law, which ſhall ſtop your mouthes for ever, when you ſhall be told that the Act of the Repreſentative body is the Act of the whole Kingdome, and you are bound by the Laws of the Land; Complaints againſt illegall Taxes ſhall then no more be heard in your Streetes for want of Laws. Neither think this plot ſo ſhallow, that the Members of this Parliament, or their poſterity ſhall draw in the ſame yoke with you: No, they may entaile their ſeverall Votes and Seates in this already perpetuated Parliament to themſelves and their heires Males for ever: And (as the Fable ſaith, that the Lion proclaiming a generall day of hunting, all beaſts of prey waited upon him for their ſhares) ſo theſe may have a ſubordinate ſhare, according to their ſeverall capacities, in your ſpoiles and booties. The L. Treaſurer *Burleigh* was wont to ſay, *He knew not what a Parliament could not doe*; And truly I know not what a *Parliament* (concurring with his Majeſty) cannot be: They may be the only favorites and privadoes, and ſtrike all others into the Boxe, and lie in their roomes: Biſhops ſhall not ſtrain their Conſciences nor brains to invent a Theologicall engine, called a Divine prerogative for battering your Lawes, Liberties, and properties; the Votes of parliament ſhall ſhake them in ſunder: they ſhall be the Kings Cavaliers, and ſubdue you and all yours (feare not a Civill war) without blow ſtriken, and with a moſt permanent victory. And this whole Kingdome ſhall conſiſt only of a King, a parliament, and ſlaves. VVhat King will reject ſuch ſervants, or neglect ſuch a *Compendium* of power and profit upon any conditions? Miſtake me not: I doe not ſay or thinke they will do this, they have ſhewed themſelves more pious, juſt, faithfull, then to deſerve ſuch a ſuſpition. But take heed you doe not cancell the obligation your election hath laid upon them, by an undeſerved, ignoble miſtruſt: Many a man hath provoked his wife to lewdneſſe, by thinking her lewde; Teach them not by your example to bee, what you would not have them to be; If either indignation or feare ſhould prepare their mindes to make a politique uſe of your faithleſſe cowardiſe; what might they not get, and you loſe? VVho will not rather forſake then be forſaken, and ſacrifice himſelf for the ſafety of a company of ungratefull, unfaithfull cowards? Honour is the reward of vertuous actions, and protection is due to them who protect your Religion, Lawes, Liberties, and properties. Give it them for their ſakes and your owne, or blame them not if they follow the dictates of nature, and provide for their own ſafety, by deſerting you who would deliver up them. Be true to your ſelves, that they may be true to you; for who will ſtick to him that abandons himſelfe? Let not feare betray thoſe helpes which reaſon offers you. And God ſend us all mindes prepared for peace, hearts fit for war, and no cauſe to uſe our hands in ſuch a ſervice: yet if ſo ſad an occaſion do come, let us meet it with the manly alacrity of Chriſtians: Knowing that all things work together for the beſt to them that love God. I conclude with *Seneca*, *Leve eſt quod ferre poſſum*; *Breve eſt quod ferre non poſſum.*

FINIS.